Vol. XVI
No. 12

THE WORLD TOMORROW

TOWARD INSURRECTION

SCOTT NEARING

The False Lure of Class War

DEVERE ALLEN

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

Censoring the Air

An Editorial

NATIONALIZE THE BANKS

Henry J. Rosner

MARCH 22nd

10 cents a copy, $3.00 a year

We believe in God, our Country, our President, our financial institutions, our fellow countrymen and a sure return to prosperity.—*A life insurance agent.*

The first card in his new deal has been an ace.—*A lawyer.*

Believe this is the psychological time to buy real estate. Back President Roosevelt.—*A realtor.*

It is our belief that advertising will play an important part in bringing prosperity back.—*An advertising specialist.*

I wish to express my confidence in President Roosevelt.—*A teacher of contract bridge.*

Roosevelt, the Skipper, will lead us through the turbulent waters of Fear and Distress to the tranquil sea of normalcy.—*A lawyer.*

The American people look to President Roosevelt as the ancient Israelites looked to Moses to lead them out of the wilderness.—*Business not specified.*

To date Mr. Roosevelt would appear to be the Martin Luther of our country.—*A tenor.*

With President Roosevelt in office confidence is established. "Buy American Puppies."—*A man who has been established 14 years in one place.*

President Roosevelt has already shown himself an extraordinary psychologist. This God-sent ability to handle the masses will bring about the dawn of better days for our nation.—*A piano teacher.*

In a center box is reproduced an editorial which appeared in this same Republican newspaper on March 4. As an appropriate climax, we print without comment certain words taken from this editorial: "He is a gallant figure, a true Roosevelt in his charm and gusto. . . . He is lucky—and how the country needs luck! . . . May his smile be the harbinger of calmer seas and sunnier skies!"

Lessons from Germany

Last Sunday's election gave an absolute majority in Greater Berlin to the Nazis and Nationalists. Thus reaction now reigns supreme even in the former stronghold of Social Democrats and Communists, and the old imperial flag and the Hitlerite swastika fly side by side over the city. Every possible effort will now be made to liquidate the Communists completely and to crush the Socialists and trade unionists. An open or covert reign of terror against radicals will entrench the Nationalists in power—until their foreign and domestic policies result in the utter demolition of the German productive and distributive system.

In retrospect it is easy to see that the support of Hindenburg by the Social Democrats was a colossal blunder. They should have realized that an aged militarist-monarchist was too frail a reed upon which to lean and should have adopted a far more vigorous policy. Attention should also be called to the failure of the Communist strategy and their inability to enlist a sufficient portion of the working class to enable them to seize power. To date the Communist failure has been as disastrous as the Socialist failure.

The next few years offer nothing but pitch darkness to the German workers. Even if the Socialists should abandon their pacifism and join with the Communists in violent class war, the combined forces would quickly be utterly annihilated by the superior armed might of the Fascists. Prolonged civil war will not lead to the establishment of a just social order in Germany, but on the contrary will plunge millions of people into indescribable chaos and misery. The German scene at this moment clearly reveals the impossibility, in the face of armed reaction, of building *speedily* a decent economic system. There is no reason, therefore, why the Socialists of the United States should abandon their strategy of political and economic pressure merely because ultimate success is several decades removed.

We are impressed with the significance of the change in strategy recently adopted by the British Labor Party. The new position is that the Labor Party will not participate in a coalition government, and will not take office unless it has a majority of parliamentary votes. Moreover, it will attempt to secure control of Parliament by presenting to the electorate a program of immediate socialization of banking, credit, and the mines, with the progressive socialization of other major means of production and distribution as rapid as possible.

Snuffing the Candle

From *Le Petit Bleu*

Capitalism-Bolshevism Compromise

A delegation of unemployed citizens recently presented evidence to the city council of Bicknell, Ohio, that 400 families in that community were without the necessities of life as the result of unemployment, and urged the city government to appeal to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a loan of $25,000 to be used in providing relief for these destitute families. Whereupon the city council formulated and published a proposal which in the language of the council was thus described: "This plan is intended to be a rational and conservative compromise between the two present forms of industrial activity, namely, capitalism controlled by rampant selfishness, and so-called Bolshevism." And this in the land of the free and the home of the brave!

The proposal turns out to be "the enactment by the federal government of a corporate control law, laying down the broad principle that all incorporated concerns operating or doing business within jurisdiction of the federal government are in fact quasi-public institutions, and that as such actual invested capital in all such quasi-public institutions is entitled to a reasonable return only, and that earnings in excess of a fixed maximum is by right property of the general public. . . ." The council goes on to suggest appropriate federal machinery for making effective this proposal.

Another Unpatriotic Judge

Judge M. M. Joyce, of the United State District Court at St. Paul, on March 1 denied the application for citizenship of Reverend T. F. Rutledge Beale because the latter would not swear to bear arms in case of war. This case is different in an essential respect from previous denials of citizenship to pacifists because Mr. Beale based his entire case on the Pact of Paris. Pointing out that the nations of the earth, including the United States, have solemnly renounced war as an instrument of national policy and have agreed never to seek the settlement of any dispute whatsoever except by pacific means, Mr. Beale took the position that the bearing of arms in war constitutes a violation of this international obligation and therefore should not be made a condition of naturalization.

Mr. Beale has announced his intention of appealing to the United States Circuit Court, and if necessary to the Supreme Court of the United States. Former Secretary Kellogg is a resident of St. Paul and there is a possibility that he may appear before the Supreme Court as counsel for Mr. Beale in seeking to establish a legal foundation for pacifism by appealing to the Kellogg Treaty.

It will be recalled that in the famous Macintosh-Bland case the Supreme Court was divided five to four in favor of denying citizenship to those two pacifists, and that the minority was made up of Chief Justice Hughes and Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Stone. Moreover, two recent court decisions have upheld the validity of conscientious objections to war. Judge Everett, of Lima, Ohio, not long since granted citizenship to Professor Klassen of Bluffton College in spite of the fact that the applicant as a Mennonite refused to swear that he was willing to bear arms in defense of this country. Judge Ulman of Baltimore upheld the position of two students who refused to take compulsory military training at the University of Maryland, on the ground that a tax-supported institution is not justified in compelling students to take military training if they have conscientious scruples against participating in war. Then there is the further significant fact that the State Department is still granting passports to citizens who express an unwillingness to bear arms.

Postal Savings Checks

During the closing hours of the last session of Congress, Senator Dill introduced a bill providing for the inauguration of checking accounts in connection with the postal savings banks. He pointed out that at present a billion dollars is on deposit in the 8,000 offices of the postal system. The Senator proposes that checking accounts up to $5,000 be permitted, that no interest be paid on such accounts, and that a charge of two cents per check be made to cover the cost of the service rendered. The estimate is made that an initial appropriation of $50,000,000, or perhaps double this amount, would be required to launch the new venture, but that thereafter the entire system would be self-sustaining.

This proposal looks in the right direction and we hope that it will be enacted into law. If there could be added to the Gibraltar-like stability of the postal bank the convenience afforded by the privilege of sending checks instead of being required to go to the bank in person, the postal system would quickly assume vast proportions and would constitute a long step toward socialized banking.

Autocratic Rule by the Navy

One of the most disturbing actions taken by the late Congress was the rejection by the House of a bill to establish civil government in Samoa and to give American citizenship to the 10,000 Samoans. The blinding effects of imperialism are vividly illustrated in the debate on this measure.

The islands of Western Samoa were acquired by the United States in 1900, and since that time "they have been under the control entirely of the Navy." Congressman Beedy says: "The present Navy government is the most autocratic in the world. It gives them no citizenship status. It denies them the right to make laws to regulate purely local problems. It gives them no appeal to a higher court when they seek to litigate their rights. It places them under the supreme

control of a Navy officer. . . . There is only one great blot upon the escutcheon of the Navy government, which illustrates something of the effect of a tropical climate upon our race. A former Governor of Samoa, a United States Navy captain . . . had one of these Samoan chiefs arrested, preferred charges against him, court-martialed him, and without a jury trial had him hanged within 24 hours."

Although the fact was emphasized that the cost of operating the proposed civil government would not exceed by more than $18,000 annually the present cost of the Navy administration, Congressman Schafer offered vigorous objection to "this simon pure democratic plan of taking care of foreign peoples first at the expense of the American people"; while Mr. French said: "We ought to retain our possession in Samoa for the purpose for which we acquired it. Let it be under the Navy Department." It remained for Major General Martin, retired, who now sits as a member of the House, to lay bare the imperialist mind in its purest form: "The gentleman from Kentucky must realize that this is nothing but a naval base, and here it is proposed to go in there and set up an expensive government. Why not let the matter go on as it is?" We rise to inquire: Why not?

The Brookwood Schism

At a meeting of the labor directors of Brookwood Labor College held on March 5 the long-threatened split in the faculty of that institution finally occurred. As a result, A. J. Muste, director of the school, and Tom Tippett, extension director, have resigned from the school. The controversy over policy between these two men and the remainder of the faculty has been in process for some time, the bone of contention being the relation of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action to Brookwood. Mr. Muste has been the leader of both enterprises. The opposition to Muste's regime contends that his double function tended to identify Brookwood too completely with one wing of the labor movement while they wished to keep the labor college free of any "sectarian" entanglements. Muste and Tippett, on the other hand, contend that the opposition is directed against the left-wing policy, the "vanguard" militancy of their program. Voluminous statements have been made by all sides, including the two factions into which the student body was split. The labor directors made their decision in favor of the majority of the faculty. A majority of the students, two-thirds of the 28 enrolled in the school, on the other hand, quit the school when the board failed to support Muste and Tippett.

It is difficult for outsiders to gain a complete picture of the situation or to assess the merits of the cases advanced by the parties to the controversy. Muste and Tippett are both able, courageous and indispensable leaders in the radical labor movement. Whether they permitted their zeal for the program of the C. P. L. A. to drive them into uncompromising opposition to other radical forces and to identify Brookwood too completely with the C. P. L. A. is a question which is difficult to answer. Wherever the root of the difficulty lies, the split is regrettable. It imperils the usefulness of both Brookwood and the C. P. L. A. Both organizations have the financial difficulties which all similar institutions experience in the present moment, and the split may well increase these difficulties.

If a guess may be ventured on the merit of issues so involved as those presented by the Brookwood situation, it is that the C. P. L. A. has mistakenly placed itself in opposition to the Socialist Party. It is not in a position to become a political party. It was and is doing tremendously useful work on the industrial front, and it could have continued that work without hindrance, criticizing official Socialist policy and yet not drawing the issue as tightly as it did between itself and the Party. But perhaps the issue is basically as personal as ideological. In personal terms the issue was whether a man can do full justice to two such important positions as A. J. Muste occupied in the two organizations in question.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions of labor policy and personal relationships, even those who differ with Muste and Tippett will hope that their usefulness to the labor movement will be enhanced rather than impaired by the turn which events have taken. But one may be permitted to hope with equal fervor that Brookwood will be able to repair the breaches and continue in its work of training labor leaders. It is an important work which must go on.

If We Are to Have a United Front

On March 6 *Pravda* published a manifesto by the executive committee of the Third International instructing Communist parties throughout the world to arrange a joint program of action with the Second International and other labor parties against fascism and other reactionary movements. This reversal of an accepted policy was produced by the ascent of Hitler to power in Germany and the consequent danger that all left-wing activities will be suppressed or driven under ground. The manifesto is directed toward the kind of coöperation recently urged by representatives of seven Socialist parties of the Left in various countries, as interpreted in an editorial in our issue of March 15.

That unity of action against the reactionary trend now widely prevelant in many countries is imperatively demanded cannot be questioned. But its achievement depends upon the temper displayed by the divergent radical groups, and even more upon the degree of unanimity that can be attained with regard to the methods to be adopted in presenting a united front to exploitation.

Nothing is to be gained by obscuring the funda-

mental differences in strategy between Communist parties and Socialist parties. The evidence leaves no room for doubt that Socialists have been far more appreciative of Communist achievements and much more tolerant toward Communist activities than Communists have been toward Socialists. Throughout the schools of the Soviet Union, as has been pointed out by Thomas Woody in his illuminating volume, *New Minds: New Men?*, the idea is everywhere propagated that Social Democrats and other Socialist-pacifists are more dangerous to the proletariat than even the reactionary capitalists, and that most menacing of all are the left-wing Socialists. In the United States the Communists have been as bitter in their attacks upon Norman Thomas and A. J. Muste as in their onslaughts against Hoover and Roosevelt. Repeatedly they have used joint committees and joint conferences for the purpose of launching attacks upon non-Communist radicals and pacifists. Needless to say, abandonment of this policy is a condition essential to effective coöperation between Communists and Socialists in a program of action against fascism and other forms of reactionary oppression. Coöperation is possible only if the coöperators will stop knifing each other.

Who Owns the Air?

That radio broadcasting is doing more than any other agency to determine ideas and attitudes in the masses of the people is the firm belief of some of the closest students of the matter. Though this estimate cannot at present be verified—even though it should exaggerate the facts—unquestionably the situation is one of extreme gravity. Because of the limited number of channels, broadcasting is inherently monopolistic; therefore the ultimate control of the air was taken over, as though this were a matter of course, by the federal government. Theoretically, then, "We the people" own the air, and our officials at Washington, when they assign radio channels, merely manage our property for us. What these officials actually have done is to give away to private commercial interests 94 per cent of the channels! The same political principles and parties that dicker away our power resources so that we have to pay tribute to private capital for the privilege of using what belongs to us, bestow upon a favored few the people's means of getting the information, the education, and the entertainment that they want.

Some phases of this favoritism have had considerable publicity, such as the disgusting necessity of having to hear about toothpastes or automobiles when one wants to listen to music; the delegation to commercial interests of what amounts to a censorship of the air; the enormous cost of fifteen minutes for the presentation of political debate that all citizens should have opportunity to hear. Other facts, fully as important as these, have had less attention. Here are two or three of them: The states, in spite of their sovereignty under the Constitution, have no means of preventing within their respective borders forms of advertising or of propaganda that go squarely counter to legally adopted school programs, as in the case of tobacco and liquor broadcasts. Further, since no channels are available to states, they cannot counteract upon the air these governmentally permitted invasions. It is axiomatic in our constitutional law that the control of general education within a state is one of the powers reserved to the states and to the peoples. Yet the radio, a prime agency of general education, is so handled by the federal government as to make the Constitution at this point of no effect.

Educational institutions that desire to employ the radio are handicapped by official discrimination in favor of commercial interests. What would the "visitor from Mars" think of the following condition of affairs? When radio broadcasting arrives in the nation that is most distinguished upon earth for devotion to popular education, a National Committee on Education by Radio has to be formed "to secure to the people of the United States the use of radio for educational purposes," and this boon must be begged of the government by such organizations as The National Education Association, The Department of Superintendence, The Department of Elementary School Principals, The Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, The National Association of State Universities, The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and The National Catholic Educational Association. Think of such agencies beseeching the government to give education a fair chance!

The National Committee on Education by Radio is engaged in the worthy cause of working for the establishment of public radio stations as a means of supplying this need. The Committee is for serving the households of the nation instead of exploiting them as a market for goods; it is for serving the schools by keeping them in touch with the best educational thought and practice; it is for a national system of adult education. None of these things can we have under present conditions. At present, moreover, the ways of the city man dominate the air—his ideas, his notions of entertainment, his inability to understand agriculture and the problems of rural life. Public radio stations, some of them under the control of state governments, plus stations under the management of educational institutions and societies, are a national necessity, and the Committee is to be commended for its fine endeavor.

To Our Subscribers

Because of the banking holiday we have not discontinued subscriptions which expired during the past two weeks. We are now prepared to accept renewals upon receipt of $1.00, the balance to be paid within sixty days.

Radical Truth Goes Off the Air

ON March 8 Devere Allen of this journal was barred from broadcasting over WGY, the General Electric station at Schenectady, New York, a brief address which had been announced for four o'clock, arrangements for which had been made by a local committee in charge of an evening lecture by Mr. Allen under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. The station was not selling its time in this instance, but had agreed to broadcast the address presumably because of its general interest in view of the speaker's presence in the city for the evening forum.

It is highly significant that, according to officials of the Schenectady station, orders have emanated from the headquarters of the National Broadcasting Company that nothing is to be allowed on the air which will undermine "confidence" and "faith." Certain portions of the speaker's manuscript, which he had submitted in advance, were held to belong in this category, and so, a few hours before the time set for the broadcast, the local committee was informed that the speech must be cancelled, and at four o'clock the station announced its "regret" that Mr. Allen would not be able to deliver his address.

What were the incendiary utterances which were so shocking to the guardians of the ether? The speaker's manuscript, which was mailed one day prior to the general closing of the banks, was ambitiously entitled "A New Philosophy for a New Age," to fit in with the subject for the auditorium address of the evening, and it outlined three attitudes which might be taken in the present world crisis: Drift, reaction, or socialization. After describing the roseate hopes of liberals at the end of the Great War and the expectation that a new effort toward democracy, peace and justice might follow the disillusionment of the conflict, the manuscript said: "That we have seen exactly the opposite of this, only the most blind and stupid could deny. Instead, we see today the nations with more men under arms than in 1913; we see the impoverished peoples of the world obliged to live in penury, with 45,000,000 unemployed and with a collapse of security from pole to pole, and nevertheless having to pay out every year for armaments nearly five billions of dollars; and we see, not a growing harmony among the governments of the world, but aggravated tensions, augmented fears, and the development of new enginery of destruction . . ." This passage was marked by WGY as offensive, though no criticism was made on the ground of factual inaccuracy. The sole ground of the complaint was the danger to "confidence and faith." Faith in what and whom? The answer may be inferred, possibly, from an examination of the other passages marked as objectionable.

After describing tersely the flood of optimistic utterances which served so long to bolster up a policy of drift, the manuscript goes on to say: "Unless, however, I read wrongly the signs of the times, it seems to me that throughout the country these fine phrases about prosperity have themselves been shoved around the corner, and no longer grip the imagination of the people. Nor do I find today any widespread belief among the masses that we can depend upon the predictions or upon the leadership of such pioneers of prosperity as some of the officials of the great utilities and certain great banks, who have given us plenty of reason to look elsewhere for guidance in this perilous period of world collapse."

Decrying economic war and pointing out its dangers, the manuscript frightened WGY by these realistic words: "Yet such a war is being waged today, along the tariff front, with respect to the possession of gold, over the war debts, and in the marts and counting houses of the nations."

Shudders of alarm would doubtless have stirred the populace to insurrection if the final objectionable passage had been sent out on the air: "If there are those who still hold hopefully to the ordinary, time-tried methods of capitalist business and finance, let me remind them that we have had a significant depression in this country, since the Civil War, on the average of once every seven years. What is the promise of a system which, at best, can only bring us out of the crisis and keep us out just long enough to catch a deep breath before we go down again?"

One Schenectady newspaper, when appealed to, and requested to print the story of this case of suppression and censorship, replied, with reason, that its lay-out was complete. The morning paper, however, lacking such an alibi, declared that WGY should be treated just as if it were a fellow-journal, and that therefore to criticize it or play up its censorship would be a violation of journalistic ethics!

Such a case, taken by itself, is of slight moment. But as an example of what we shall be in for as capitalism seeks one means after another to defend itself and perpetuate its ineptitude and misrule, it is of no small portent. We have long heard about the lessons which the depression has taught the American people. Perhaps they have learned a great deal, after all, and that may be why the air will become increasingly closed to those who, for unselfish reasons of loyalty to the masses, want them to know the truth that alone can set them free.

The Drift Toward Insurrection

SCOTT NEARING

A COUPLE of years ago the Berengaria lay for two days near the Quarantine Station in New York harbor. So thick was the fog that there were times when it was impossible to see for more than fifty yards. On the second day a small freighter crept up the river past the Berengaria and cast anchor just to the north of her. The two vessels were separated by a few hundred feet, yet only the outline of the newcomer bulked through the mist. All details were lost in the murk. After the freighter had cast anchor, the tide turned her around. Her captain had misjudged his position, and her stern was swept right across the bows of the Berengaria. She caught for a moment on the anchor chain. Then she tore loose. First her flag staff snapped; then her rail crumpled up as the smaller ship ground along the side of the big liner. There was hurrying, shouting, whistling, but before anything could be done, the freighter had pulled herself free from the Berengaria's side, and carried her crippled stern off into the mist.

This episode symbolizes the present social situation in the United States. The unemployed and evicted workers, the foreclosed farmers, the disemployed technicians and bankrupt business men are drifting in a fog of ignorance and illusion—drifting against the immense bulk of American capitalism. When the crash comes, the ill-constructed craft of the disinherited will crumple up against the steel plates of the capitalist state apparatus. If the smaller vessel threatens to rip some of the plates loose, a well-directed bomb from the armed forces will tear it to pieces.

The drift toward insurrection, like every drift, is in the main, planless and theory-less. Men and women who for years enjoyed the comforts and some of the luxuries, found themselves, after 1929, thrust harshly below the poverty line. Their incomes disappeared. Taxes, interest, and bank failures ate up their savings. The day came when there was no food in the house. Another day, and an eviction notice or a foreclosure took away the house itself.

This fierce threat against living standards came unexpectedly—came to careful, frugal, hard-working church members who had consistently voted the Republican ticket. There were no signs nor portents. No one had ever warned them that the bottom might fall out of prosperity. Perplexity and confusion gave way to blind despair as the slump continued through 1931 and 1932.

"Things just can't get any worse," people told each other. But things did get so much worse that loss of home followed loss of job and of income. Men and women who had worked and saved until they believed themselves fixed for life found themselves in the street.

Human beings grow accustomed to poverty and wretchedness. Where they are born in it and grow up in it, they learn to accept it. But those who have had a roof over their heads and money in their pockets resist when these things are stripped away. If a burglar enters a house, the householder fights back. But when a big oil company fires you, or a billion dollar life insurance company forecloses on the mortgage, or a city sells you out for taxes—what then? Men feel like fighting back—but against whom, and with what weapons?

REVOLUTIONARIES have answers to these questions. Marx and Lenin worked them out in painstaking detail. American workers, farmers and small business men, however, have no idea of the answers. Most of them have heard of Marx. Lenin was a "Roo'shun." As for the revolution, George Washington made a good one long ago. Since then revolutions have been dangerous affairs because they threatened law and order.

The widespread propaganda carried on by the Socialists and the I. W. W. between 1900 and 1916 were forgotten during the war years and the prosperity period that followed it. A generation has grown up which knows nothing of socialism except what it reads in the daily news. When men and women are angry, desperate, there are two things they can do: one is to go to the polls on election day, vote out the Republicans and vote in the Democrats; the other is to go to a movie and "forget it." Neither method really gets anywhere. The Democratic bankers and politicians, like their Republican fellow exploiters, are tied tight to the same dying economic system. As for the movies—they buy no bread and pay no rent.

What then? If voting does no good and if the circus does not enable one to forget—"Well, then, a man can at least take down the old gun and go to it."

How many thousand times during the past twelve months has this answer been made to circumstances and to arguments. Among farmers, miners and other dwellers outside the big centers of industry, trade and traffic squads, there is an army of men ready and willing to "take down the old gun and go to it." The social drift has already carried these desperate men to the point of insurrection. The farmers of the Mississippi Valley are closer to insurrection than any

* This is the third of a series of four articles analyzing the American scene and the prospects for the near future.

other group of the United States population. For years they have tried political parties and political appeals. Within the past few months they have turned to large-scale direct action. They have inaugurated milk strikes and food strikes, picketed highways, ganged up on sheriffs and auctioneers, threatened judges, marched before executives. Many of these activities were carried on in defiance of the law. Through direct action the farmers have won important concessions, particularly in the matter of foreclosures. To date, insurrectionary acts have brought results where legal remedies had failed.

THUS far the farmers have proved themselves insurrectionists rather than revolutionists. While they are protesting forcibly against government policy, their object is not a new social order, but the restoration of previously existing conditions. They are fighting for the right to keep their land and to sell their crops at a profit. The farmers are small business men struggling against big business and the banks. In the South, among the share croppers, some revolutionary organization has been effected. For the most part, however, the agricultural insurrectionists are trying to restore the competitive economy of 1845.

Unemployed councils in some cities, notably Chicago, have built militant organizations. Even in Chicago, however, the control of policy is in the hands of the Socialists. Elsewhere the unemployed, if militant, have remained in a negligible minority, while the chief energies of the movement have been diverted into various programs for self-help, barter, or scrip as a means of securing immediate relief.

The ex-servicemen who marched on Washington in 1932 were easily brought under the leadership of government agents and representatives of the middle class. Some members of the rank and file were prepared for militant direct action. The great majority were law-abiding citizens who desired to "get their rights" from the Washington government. Insurrection was not even a possibility for these forlorn, harassed, perplexed ex-soldiers.

A growing army of boys and young men is moving about the United States. These homeless youths get occasional jobs, beg, stand on breadlines or steal for a living. While individuals among them resort to direct action as a means of warding off starvation, as a group they are still loyal citizens of the Wall Street Republic.

Serious insurrectionary possibilities might well be looked for from these farmers, unemployed workers, ex-servicemen and homeless youth. In all four of these groups are, of course, boys and men ready to fight for bed and board. But as yet they are not prepared for widespread collective action.

Those workers who still hold their jobs—and there are about 30 millions of them—are being pressed down by pay cuts, by part-time work, by speed-ups and by lowered standards of living. But in the midst of chaos and uncertainty they at least hold jobs, and they are willing to make many sacrifices in order to hold them. Under extreme provocation these workers will strike, as recent experience in Detroit and elsewhere has proved, and when they do strike, they fight bitterly.

Farmers, ex-servicemen and the unemployed wage-workers do not call themselves insurrectionists. Their one argument is that "something has to be done and done quickly. We'll give Roosevelt a chance to try his hand on the new deal. If that doesn't work, we'll take a hand ourselves."

There is an essential difference between an insurrectionist and a revolutionist. An insurrectionist is ready for direct action. A revolutionist aims to put a new class in power. The insurrectionist hits the first head he sees. The revolutionist follows a program and employs a strategy that will take the control of society from the exploiters and place it in the hands of the exploited. It is in this sense that thousands of American farmers and workers are insurrectionists. They are ready for direct action. They are actually employing it in mass demonstrations. By the same token, they are not revolutionists. They do not attack the basic economic institutions—private property in the means of production, profit, the business class state. When they have finished their milk strikes, highway picketing and marches, property and privilege will still be solidly entrenched.

EVEN were these millions of potential insurrectionists acting in unison, they would find themselves face to face with the powerful machine of the United States ruling class. What is the position of the American ruling class in 1933? It is a ruling class on the job. With minor exceptions the men who decide policy are active managers and executives, responsible for the detailed working of the economic machinery under their direction. Furthermore, a very large proportion of these managers and executives have come from the ranks, and have behind them a tradition of hard work. This characterization may not apply to some of the New York and Chicago bankers. It is true, in the main, of United States ruling class leadership.

It is a ruling class with a fighting tradition. Not only have many of its individual members fought their way up the success ladder, but as a class, it has fought hard and won consistently since 1815. Not once has it been defeated. In the Mexican War, in the war with the slave states, in the labor wars from 1873 to 1892, in the Spanish War of 1898, in the War of 1917-18, this class has won its battles. Today its younger elements are quite ready to fight again, at home or abroad, as occasion may demand.

It is a ruling class with powerful allies. Nowhere in the capitalist world has the ruling class succeeded in gaining and maintaining such complete control over the middle class. Nowhere in the capitalist world has

the bureaucracy of organized labor been so completely assimilated into the ruling class machine. It controls the channels of public opinion. The press, the publishing houses, the schools, the church, the radio, the movies, are almost exclusively in its hands. This great machine speaks daily and hourly to tens of millions. There are no alternative channels of communication. The ruling class is well-armed. It controls the police and the armed forces. Except for small arms it has the monopoly of weapons and of the factories in which weapons are made.

Thus far no serious rifts have appeared in the ruling class organization. Republicans and Democrats are drawing closer together. Bankers, traders and manufacturers are working hand in hand as an effective functioning organization, well equipped and armed. The working masses are backward in all these respects.

DESPITE this alignment of forces, there is a strong drift toward insurrection. The men and women who supported Roosevelt enthusiastically in October and November, 1932, are denouncing politicians and political action in February and March, 1933. This denunciation may be heard among farmers and workers alike: "The hell with politics; let's get a gun!" Important sections of the United States middle class echo the same sentiment in more guarded language. "We are ready to go the limit!" they tell you. "Things can't continue the way they are. We won't stand for it!"

It is one thing, however, to talk, and quite another thing to act effectively. The insurrectionists are deficient in three important respects: First, they have not studied the field on which they propose to do battle. Second, they have not drawn up a plan of campaign. Third, they lack organization and leadership.

If an insurrection is to result in anything more than a bloodbath, it must be built around an adequate analysis of the existing situation. It must have a program, including a clear statement of objectives, together with a formulation of strategy and of tactics. It must be organized and it must be led by skilled masters of revolutionary theory and practice.

The revolutionary experience of Europe between 1905 and 1933 proves inescapably that if the old social structure is to be swept away, and if a new one is to be built in its place, there must be a theory and a practice of revolution understood by the leaders and interpreted on a mass scale to their followers. This is the primary need in the United States at the present moment. With the disillusionment of the masses, and the drift toward insurrection in widely separated geographical and class areas, the need for a united movement and for a competent, trusted, experienced leadership becomes each day more apparent.

Such a movement must be closely tied up with mass organizations, such as trade unions, shop-committees and labor defense organizations. It must express itself through a well-conducted daily, weekly and monthly press; through pamphlets, books, and special studies —theoretical as well as factual. It must conduct workers' schools, study classes and forums. It must, if possible out-manoeuver its class enemies before battle is actually joined. Above all, it must strive, at the first opportunity, to win the struggle for power in order that it may begin its historic task of building a socialist world.

MOST people who spend their lives reading and writing books, editing manuscripts and teaching classes, reach a level of pessimism and cynicism at which they believe that nothing is worth doing, or else they become unrealistic idealists who assume that human wish and will determine the course of history. Both the pessimist and the philosophic idealist are far removed from the actual stream of events and experiences that constitute the sum total of day to day existence and that, in their extension, make up history.

This stream of events and experiences flows on, inexorably and uninterruptedly. It may twist and turn, foaming over boulders and doubling around jutting rock-ledges. It was flowing before men became conscious of its existence or of their relation to it. It flows alike for the cynic, the utopian and the realist. It is flowing today in the United States—flowing tumultuously and tossing individuals about like corks in its turbulent surface. Within this fast moving stream of events and experiences—this rushing historic process—individuals and groups move hither and thither. Most drift with the current. Drift is the predominant characteristic of the present-day American scene.

A few have a sense of direction. It becomes their task to organize the masses; to win them away from ignorant drift; to inspire them with an iron purpose, and to guide the whole movement toward the new social order that is already appearing in Russia and China.

Conquerors

THEIR crimes remembered, Caesars, dust of dust
Unconsecrated, lie: the Scourge, the Hun,
Xerxes, Pizarro, Cid, Napoleon—
Dreamers of doom and celebrants of lust,
Their crowns and swords and scepters thick with rust
Of rebel years—they are the carrion
Of victorious war, lying stark upon
The field of glory . . . vultures' crumb and crust.

The dew-drenched meadows by the Marne again
Are occupied by peasants; Waterloo,
Ever more quiet as the years increase,
Subdues all memory of terror's reign;
Now kinder, wiser people dwell here, who
Are conquerors of men, and keep their peace.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN

The False Lure of Class War: I

DEVERE ALLEN

OUR age, inevitably, is an age of revolution. Just as the Napoleonic Wars loosed forces and counter-forces which embroiled in conflict the first half of the nineteenth century, so the World War has set the seal of special struggle upon the present period. And although the issues a hundred years ago were largely political, while ours are primarily economic, basically the cause of revolutionary impetus is the same: the willful attempts of those in charge of power to impose a favored status quo, permitting no substantial changes which can be successfully resisted by force, guile, or organized self-interest.

Whether that complex of semi-competitive economics and acquisitive culture that we are obliged to label capitalism has or has not come to its last stage, can be asserted by no one with finality. It is conceivable that capitalism, to the astonishment of its critics as well as its defenders, might crumble away and allow its rich ashes to nurture a flowering new civilization arising on its ruins. But even if that is a possibility—and few observers of sanity believe that so tenacious a system will yield thus gracefully—those who can suffer it to exist only by a surrender of every measure of social idealism they possess are not likely to wait hopefully on the sidelines. Rather, they will plan, as they ought, for a struggle. For the purpose of this discussion, then, all that matters is that capitalism has obviously broken down, that its touted best intelligences are betraying an ineptitude which has all but destroyed the legend of their greatness, that the oases of safety for the great mass of men and women grow daily smaller and drier. Scant wonder if alert and zestful persons turn more inquiringly to the problems involved in a shift of power; if they seek direct action to oust the indisputably incompetent from control; if, stung by the goad of mass suffering in the midst of plenty and lured by the hope of quick returns for humanity, they swing toward the violence of civil war. The miracle is not that some will make this choice, but that most have shown such infinite depths of patience.

It is the issue of class war in which this article centers. But so sicklied o'er by shibboleths and inherited phraseology has the issue become, that the endless waste of misunderstanding can be avoided only by explicit clarification. First, this article is based upon the need, the fact and the sound ethics of class struggle. The person who cannot see a class struggle in our present world is not merely astigmatic, but purblind; only the most sheltered could imagine that the intolerable inequities of the present social order are susceptible of resolution by quiescence; only those need shrink from that struggle on ethical grounds who would go back to the non-active pacifism of Lao Tse, abjuring the pacifist heritage from Jesus, Mo Ti, Buddha, Baha U'llah, and the various great teachers of good-will but never of surrender. Second, in this discussion all considerations are deliberately confined to the United States, and to the present period; too many artificial excursions of debate are made, when violence is under discussion, to Russia, ancient Babylon and Utopia. Third, no attempt will be made to evaluate minor forms of violence, to oppose complete passive and literal non-resistance to those peripheral outbursts of sporadic violence with which any opposition of forces is certain to be attended.

THIS discussion is concerned with class *war*. Almost completely irrelevant to our present American situation are the arguments about the necessity for a final resort to violence to force out the last trustees of a bankrupt and cracking social system; any real fight over power in this country will come to a crisis long before capitalism gets to such a state. The discussions by my colleagues, Professors Niebuhr and Coe, that have appeared in these columns are of great value, of course; nor is this article an attempted refutation of their viewpoints. Nevertheless, a realistic approach to the issue of violence demands, at its most practical point of contact, a realization that the crux of the issue is not the legality or illegality of revolutionary procedure; not the justice or ethics of strikes and similar workers' protests; not the justification of hand-to-hand combat with individuals or police. If we had a labor movement adequately organized, disciplined and strategically located in key industries, it might be realistic to talk about these forms of violence as connected with the problem of a seizure of power; but we have not. If American workers were truly and generally class conscious, the same thing would be true; but most of them are not class conscious at all. If we were a semi-agrarian people, instead of the most highly mechanized and industrialized nation in the world, it would likewise be true; but under present conditions to talk about taking over power by such manifestations of force is sheer fantasy.

A seizure of power in the United States in our time would require nothing short of class *war*. And while it is not the easiest thing in the world to define war, it should suffice for this purpose to describe it as the

organization of revolutionary masses into armed bands seeking a seizure of power by military coercion. And the important thing to remember is that it is folly to imagine that power can be taken over by any other use of force; and equally, that a justification of the lesser forms of violence in terms of the class struggle is likely to resolve itself into a necessary extension of approval to include this ultimate and essential violence. If there are those who deny this to be true; who insist, unlike the frankly violent Communists, that in terms of violence power can be seized by anything less than class war in our modern United States, the present writer can respect but cannot argue with them. What might be true of a dozen other countries is fallacious here; what might be true here a generation hence, is fallacious now. To talk of revolutionary violence and mean anything else than class war, with wholesale shootings, gassings, bombings, and subsequent dictatorship by limitless force, is to talk moonshine. The Communist's position, whatever be its defects of practicality, is sound upon this point.

HISTORICAL analogies are notoriously unreliable. But they are not useless if critically examined. And in that spirit it is worth while, perhaps, to point out a rather striking similarity between the present trend toward class war and the Abolition movement eighty years ago. Today, men of sensitive conscience and resolute will are bending their energies to the abolition of a harsh, stupid, unjust, and ruinous social system—capitalism. In that day, men of the same sort launched their ultimate attack on human slavery. Capitalism, like slavery, historically had its period of utility, when at least it superseded a worse system and brought benefit to many people in many ways; slavery, like capitalism, had its apologists in high places, who brought behind its perpetuation the moral authority of Holy Writ and pious sentiment. Both had had their roots in society centuries before both began their disintegration under the impact of time. For if the skeptic doubts that slavery was not once as fully supported by precepts and mores as is modern capitalism, let him ponder the comment of Lecky: "The prohibition of all slavery, which was one of the peculiarities of the Jewish Essenes, and the illegitimacy of hereditary slavery . . . had no place in the ecclesiastical teaching. Slavery was distinctly and formally recognized by Christianity, and no religion ever labored more to encourage a habit of *docility* and *passive obedience*." Out of that same religion, through the hymn-writing pen of Dr. Watts, came the same note with regard to economic acquiescence:

> Though I am but poor and mean,
> I will move the rich to love me,
> If I'm modest, neat and clean,
> And submit when they reprove me.

Religion the opium of the people? Even Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* allotted to slaves "all laborious toil," all "drudging" and "base business." But religion, too, as always, was not only a sedative but a stimulant; and from Dio Chrysostum, the golden-mouthed Greek sophist, down through the philosophers and moralists of succeeding centuries, there have been those who, as a minority, inveighed against slave-holding and condemned it unsparingly. In the lethargic manner of most social changes, even of revolutions for that matter, it was not until the early nineteenth century that enough momentum was acquired to accomplish a really significant shift of social custom.

Without war, and indeed practically without coercion of any kind, Denmark in 1792 by royal order declared that by ten years from that time all of the slaves still remaining in its colonial possessions should be freed; and though the country was not large, its traders had been shipping out of Africa annually about 2,000 slaves. In 1827, Mexico undertook to free its slaves, without war. In 1848 France did likewise, except that in Santo Domingo unscrupulous slave-owners tried to evade the order, precipitating riots and bloodshed of a minor character. And more from the persuasive moral crusade of William Wilberforce and his band of abolitionists than from any coercion at all, Great Britain in 1833 freed its last slaves in the West Indies, totalling almost three quarters of a million. Spain in 1878 eradicated slavery in Cuba, without war. And in 1888, Brazil, save for a few unimportant tilts with persistent slave-holders, abolished slavery, freeing 700,000, without war.

And yet Mr. Trotsky, wedded bigamously to a dogma of violence and a historic fallacy, recently cited our Civil War as evidence of the necessity of armed force to effect any great social change. Mr. Trotsky did more than this. He expatiated on the benefits of the Civil War to the Negro race. Yet he could learn a great deal by contrasting the status of the colored people in the West Indies under British rule, or in France, or in Brazil, or anywhere else where the change was made without too much coercion, with the American South, where the results of that forced emancipation are still discernible in a Jim Crow civilization.

THERE is a certain parallel between John Brown, the direct actionist in the days of anti-slavery agitation, and the confirmed proponents of class war to free the wage slaves of our modern times. The present-day liberal or Socialist who depends solely upon parliamentarism to achieve the overthrow of capitalism, resembles not a little the founders of the Liberty Party of 1840, the Free Soil Party into which it merged in 1848, and the Republican Party which became the repository of most political anti-slavery activity by the time it first ran Lincoln for the White

House. It is worthy of note, perhaps, that the liberal parliamentarian was betrayed by Lincoln just as his descendants later were by Wilson; for both of these Presidents ran on a campaign platform of keeping the country out of war, both were elected in November, and both carried the country into war in the following April.

The liberal economists of our generation who stand above the battle yet whose sympathies are definitely with the oppressed group and who work for a change by a gradual amelioration of economic burdens through unemployment insurance, etc., etc., are not wholly different from the considerable group of pacifists and peace workers, led by Elihu Burritt, who proposed the avoidance of war over the slavery issue by "compensated emancipation," suggesting that the returns from vast sales of public lands should be used to buy all the slaves from their owners. President Lincoln seriously considered compensation for Union slave-holders in 1862, the year in which his bill for emancipation in the District of Columbia provided for compensation ranging from one hundred to three hundred dollars. The compensated emancipation movement for a time enlisted the support of some notable figures, among them not only Burritt himself but Dr. Mark Hopkins of Williams College, Governor Fairchild of Vermont, and Dr. Eliphalet Nott of Union College. But under the pressure of the furor stirred by the raid at Harper's Ferry and the determination of Lincoln not to stand for the challenge of the South at Sumter, this project, like most liberal proposals dependent upon rational approaches through economic moderation, faded from the picture.

THERE may be food for thought, too, in the unwitting contribution which the Garrisonian pacifists made to the inevitability of war, and in their submersion, step by step, in the orthodox militarism which became equally inevitable. There is ample reason for agreement with those historians who blame the Abolitionists for their share in driving the country into a war mentality. They could not be moved from their wholesale moral indignation by the existence, in the South, of at least a hundred societies working for abolition. They were too embittered by the brutalities of slavery as revealed in the tracts of the period, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* to be softened from their anti-South venom merely because many Northern industrialists owned slave plantations in the South and in Cuba; because hundreds of free Negroes in the South owned Negro slaves themselves; or because the North itself was free from slavery chiefly on account of its special economic development instead of any conspicuous moral superiority. In this they remarkably resemble the doctrinaire radical of today, who, in his justifiable resentment at the frequent manifestations of greed by those who merely own a living, disregards and does not plan for the problem certain to emerge in any social order from the greed of the have-nots—the raw material out of which has grown the greed of the haves.

Garrison himself, who saw in the ballot the one essential way for labor to assert its social aspirations, still would not use it because of the Constitutional provisions for armed defense. The man who abhorred war and who became our leading pioneer in non-resistance, sought to prove by a pamphlet that Negroes make good soldiers and therefore ought to be freed. His country was the world; his countrymen were all mankind, with the sole exception of the unregenerate Southerners, who could not easily extricate themselves alone from a falling system and yet who would not accept any aid or advice from what they felt was a self-righteous section fully as eager to exploit them economically as they had been to exploit the black man. Garrison had written in 1838, in the Declaration of Principles of the New England Non-Resistance Society—the document which awoke Tolstoy to his non-violent views—that

> The history of mankind is crowded with evidence proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, and long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword.

But so warmly did his heart beat against the oppressors of the colored people, so eagerly did he long for their freedom, that when the die was cast and the nation had embarked on the internecine war that was one of the most unnecessary in history, he wrote to his close comrade Oliver Johnson:

> Now that civil war has begun and a whirlwind of violence and excitement is to sweep through the country, every day increasing in intensity until its bloodiest culmination, it is for the abolitionists to "stand still, and see the salvation of God," rather than to attempt to add anything to the general commotion. It is no time for minute criticism of Lincoln, Republicanism, or even the other parties, now that they are fusing for a death grapple with the Southern slave oligarchy; for they are instruments in the hand of God to carry forward and help achieve the great object of emancipation for which we have so long been striving. The war is fearfully to scourge the nation, but mercy will be mingled with judgment, and grand results are to follow, should no dividing root of bitterness rise up at the North. All our sympathies and wishes must be with the Government, as against the Southern desperadoes and buccaneers; yet of course without any compromise of principle [sic] on our part. We need great circumspection and consummate wisdom in regard to what we say and do, under these unparalleled

circumstances. We are rather, for the time being, to note the events transpiring, than to seek to control them.

THERE is no effort here to detract from the esteem in which this noble American has long been held; but in this portion of his career there are lessons for all those whose zeal burns so strongly that fruitless and devastating explosions take place when it is juxtaposed to social dynamite. By invitation Garrison attended the celebration at Fort Sumter after the war, spoke at the banquet, evoked the plaudits of the military leaders, and saw the hand of God in everything which had taken place. His invitation was received, too, while he was speaking at Chelsea, Massachusetts, on a platform decorated with a flag which had been captured by the regiment in which one of his sons served as an officer. The Garrisonian reply to the questioner who was not a pacifist was substantially the same as that used so often by his fellow-pacifist and Abolitionist, the Reverend Samuel J. May: "If you know of no better way . . . than by force and arms, then you are bound to use force and arms."

We know more today about that war for freedom than they did who fought it out in blood and ruin. But we know no more than they about the class war for a socialist society and its consequences. Must we therefore wait, quiescent, for an invitation to succeed to power, knowing it will never come? Or can we, foregoing class war, nevertheless press on with revolutionary action? These and further relevant queries will be dealt with in a second article to follow.

Nationalize the Banks

HENRY J. ROSNER

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT is everywhere hailed as a national hero for his decisive action in formulating a program to meet the banking crisis. Many of his well-wishers have, however, identified activity with sound social policy and have failed to think through the complete implications of his program.

The President has done well, even his Socialist and Communist opponents must admit, within the limitations of a privately owned and operated banking system. His rejection of the bankers' proposal for scrip in favor of an expansion of Federal Reserve bank notes was a statesmanlike act. Interstate trade and commerce would have been paralyzed with scrip of different values based on various types of assets circulating in different parts of the country. It would have been impossible to determine prices to guarantee business men against loss. A particular transaction at a specific price might subsequently result in financial loss because the rate of exchange as between different scrips would shift. This uncertainty arising from an unstable medium of exchange would have made for a further stagnation of our economic life.

At the same time, the people must not blind themselves to some of the fundamental weaknesses of the President's plan, which can only be averted by the nationalization of our banking system. For example, it is proposed to re-open sound banks and liquidate and reorganize unsound banks. This means that a poor depositor who may have his life savings in a badly-managed bank will lose a considerable amount of money, whereas a wealthy depositor, who may, fortunately for him, have his money in a good bank, will get a hundred cents on the dollar.

This is not an academic question despite the words of good cheer that have emanated from the White House. It is impossible to forecast the losses but they will be tremendous. The Comptroller of the Currency reports that on June 30, 1932, there were $10,000,000,000 in thrift accounts in the commercial banks of the United States and another $10,000,000,000 in savings accounts.

Many of these institutions will undoubtedly have to be reorganized. Too many have invested funds in mortgages, bonds and stocks at 1929 prices. In the last ten years the banks of the country have tended to reduce the volume of loans based on self-liquidating commercial paper, that is to say, short term loans to finance production or merchandizing which are repaid as soon as the goods are sold. There has been a tremendous increase in long term investments which are repayable out of profits over a long period of time. There follows a table which summarizes this trend:

Percentage Distribution of Loans and Investments of All U. S. Incorporated Banks

	1922	1929	1930	1931
Commercial Loans	47	32.9	31.4	28.4
Loans on Securities	13.1	19.8	20	16.9
Real Estate Loans	8.7	17.8	17.9	18.4
U. S. Government Bonds	8.7	6.9	6.6	10.4
State, County, Municipal Loans	2.4	3	2.9	4
Railroad and Public Utility Bonds	5.3	5.3	5.7	7
Other Bonds, Stocks, and Securities	14.8	14.4	15.5	14.9

Unless there is an increase in prices to restore 1929 values, a considerable portion of these investments will

have to be written off. The banks cannot expect to be placed in a different category from that of the other creditors of our economic system. Neither industry nor real estate without a tremendous increase in prices and sales can realize the cash to pay 100 cents on the dollar to its bondholders, stockholders, and mortgage holders. The depositors as creditors of the bank cannot expect all of their money back if this tremendous deflation of capital structures takes place. This is inevitable, and reasonable men cannot doubt its desirability.

THE trouble with the Roosevelt scheme is that these inevitable losses will not be distributed equitably. The man who has picked the wrong bank, no matter how needy he is, will have to bear the burden. This is brutally unfair. He put his money in the bank on the assumption that the government was properly supervising its operations. If regulation had been more effective, the banks of the country would not have been permitted to put so much of their funds into long term investments. Unquestionably the law which allowed banks to operate investment, security and real estate affiliates was largely responsible for this development. It was natural for bankers to use their depositors' money to purchase securities underwritten and marketed by their affiliates and to pour money into speculative real estate ventures controlled by their real estate affiliates. For allowing these practices the government has a moral responsibility to guarantee against loss the working man whose life savings are likely to be wiped out overnight. He wanted security for his money. He put it into the bank and denied himself the profits of a boom period. Now he must pay the price for speculative banking without the "gravy" that went with the taking of speculative investment risks.

There is one other aspect of the banking problem that has been frequently overlooked in current discussion. The banks are more than a depository for the people's money. They furnish the life-blood for industry. Men cannot be employed without the free flow of credit. The present depression has been undoubtedly intensified by the weakness of our banking system. For months responsible business men and city governments in every part of the country have been denied bank loans which would have kept men employed and maintained purchasing power. With the threat of constant runs because of a justified loss of public confidence in the integrity of our private bankers, new loans could not be made. For two years now the banks of the country have been motivated by the need for great liquidity. As loans were retired, they were not renewed even though the proceeds were to be used to keep men employed. In short, exposures of dishonest banking throughout the nation had so undermined public confidence that abnormally large cash reserves had to be maintained. This is borne out by a recent study of the National Industrial Conference Board on the Availability of Bank Credit in the United States. A questionnaire to almost 4,000 employers throughout the country disclosed that 22 per cent of them could not get bank loans even though their credit rating by Bradstreet and Dun's was good.

It will take a long time before public confidence in private banking institutions will be restored. This will tend to a further contraction of bank credit with a resulting increase in unemployment. The banks of the country will not dare to make loans as long as depositors' runs loom on the horizon. The banking system is not only an unsafe custodian of the people's money but it has also failed to fulfill the most important function of a banking system—the mobilization of the savings of the country and the directing of them into productive industry, which withers away without the nourishment of the credit stream.

SOCIALIZATION of our banking system without delay is the only solution for these problems. If the government takes over the banks, the assets of both weak and strong banks can be pooled. If investment losses cannot be covered by wiping out the bank owners' equity, then they should be distributed among the depositors through a graduated levy on deposits. Below a certain minimum there should be no losses. As the deposits get larger and larger the losses should be greater. For instance, a savings deposit of $3,000 or less should take no loss, whereas a savings deposit of $2,000,000 might be almost completely wiped out. The Ella Wendel estate has such a large deposit in one of the New York banks. In this way the losses could be distributed equitably in proportion to the ability to bear them.

There would be confidence in a government-owned and operated banking system. The best proof of this is a 600 per cent increase in Postal Savings deposits in the last three years, although the money goes right back into the commercial banks. The credit resources of the country could, therefore, be safely used to put men to work where their services were required to meet genuine economic needs of the people.

It would be a relatively simple matter to take over the banks if there were the will to do so. Let the federal government exercise its power of eminent domain after the enactment of appropriate legislation, just as it does in acquiring property for any needed government service. Compensation could subsequently be determined by boards set up for this purpose. This, of course, would be dependent upon whether there was any owner's equity left after losses had been written off.

The banks should be operated by a National Banking Department headed by the Federal Reserve Board and its staff. The latter, through its con-

trol over the 12 central banks of issue which discount the paper and purchase the acceptances of member banks of the Federal Reserve System and also of non-member banks through correspondent member banks, is thoroughly acquainted with the whole banking system of the United States. It could with a minimum of waste motion do a good job of running the banks of the country. It employs a corps of statisticians and economists whose functions could be readily expanded to include the gathering of statistics upon which to predicate the flow of credit into socially useful industry.

Some advocates of socialized banking urge the expansion of the Postal Savings Banks to provide government banking facilities for savings accounts. This is to be done by increasing the present interest rate of two per cent and raising the maximum deposit from $2500 to $7500. The theory is that the Federal Reserve should handle commercial banking, and the Post Office savings. In the present situation this proposal is unsound.

If the mutual savings banks are permitted to remain in private hands while the facilities of the Post Office banks are expanded, the tendency will be for depositors to take their money out of savings banks and transfer them to the Post Office. This is inevitable since the credit of the United States government guarantees every dollar in the Postal Savings banks. A great many savings banks would be wrecked. A large percentage of their resources are in real estate mortgages. Forced liquidation of these assets in the present market would result in terrific losses to depositors.

On the other hand, if the savings banks are taken over by the government, they ought not to be run by the Postal authorities. Everybody knows that the Post Office is the haven of the politicians. Moreover, the Postal Savings banks are not really banks in the sense of directing credit into industry. They are mere depositories which transfer the funds as rapidly as they get them to private banks. The savings banks ought to be an integral part of the National Banking Department. We would be much more certain of competent banking in a specialized department than in the politician-infested Post Office. The Postal Savings banks should be liquidated and their functions transferred to a savings bank division of the National Banking Department.

Socialized banking does not mean socialism. But it would be a most effective beginning. Until such time as we are prepared to socialize our entire economic life, the granting of credits to private industry could be made contingent upon the observance of a 30- or 40-hour week and a minimum wage. In this way it could be used to raise the standards of living of the American people.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt has the greatest opportunity of his career. The temper of the American people today is such that the nation would stand behind him if he moved to take the banks away from the private bankers, who have been thoroughly discredited and deflated. This step would, if he so desired, furnish the foundation for a new social order and the new deal that he is so fond of talking about.

Choosers

MAN, with a soul,
With arms and feet that move,
And eyes that covet the sky,
Cannot choose a spot,
Drive a stake,
Tether life to it, and cry:
"Here I stay."

In the life-cycle
Of flowers and grass,
The dead are sleepers
That have passed through dark tunnels
To the dawn.
From the grave, the grass is cut,
And the flowers that drop their petals
Are travelers of the wind.

But the hills and mountains
Are choosers that have chosen well.
Settled on their creative claim,
They can forever say:
"We are."

J. GRAYDON JEFFRIES

Plea of an Idle-Class Rebel

DON'T hold our brittle wrists against us, comrades,
The narrow hands that clasp our delicate knees,
Our slender frames well-used to constant shelter,
For we have paid a bitter price for these.

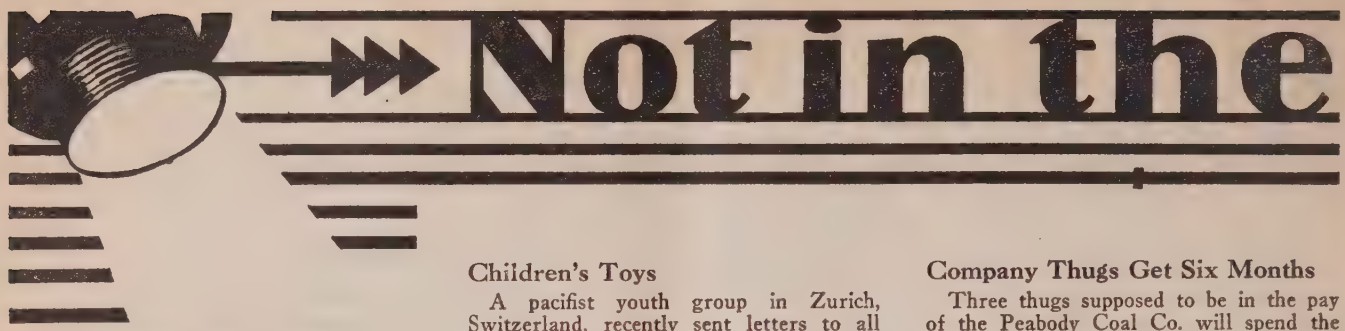
We come from gentle blood, they say, oh gentle
Only to those in whose thin veins it flowed!
Our people owned the lands where you have labored,
For them the yield of seed your hands have sowed.

Don't hold our cultured words against us, comrades,
For they were taught to us through lying schools;
But pity us that we must bear the burden
Of every sin that's made you folk the tools,

Of every wrong a ruling class has branded
Upon the backs of slaves—the common whole.
The knife of evil-doing strikes the marrow,
The wound of shame is festering through the soul!

Don't hold our slender hands against us, comrades.
They long to break the vicious links that chain.
Humbled we bow before our worker-brothers,
With eyes that dim at your enduring pain.

LUCIA TRENT



A Mere $3,000 Per Month

The mother of seven-year-old Lucy Cotton Thomas recently appeared before the Surrogate in New York City to demand a higher allowance from the estate of the girl's father, reports the *Herald Tribune*. The mother insisted that the existing allowance of $3,000 per month is wholly inadequate, since it restricts expenditures to $800 per month as the child's share of the rent of a Fifth Avenue apartment, $350 for chauffeur and maid service, $300 for clothing, $600 for food, $700 for furnishings and repairs, and $400 for dancing lessons, music, flowers, etc. Surrogate Delahanty decided that Lucy must get along the best she can on $36,000 per year.

The Die-Hard Mind

Merle Thorpe, editor of *Nation's Business*, the official organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in a signed editorial recently said: "If we have really come to enjoy poor economic health, the surest way to prolong the malady is to talk about giving direct government aid to the man who says he cannot find a job. The idea is not quite that simple, of course, but the subsidy of idleness is its essence. The deadly atrophy of ambition creeps on men fast enough without accelerating it with a financial bonus. . . . In vain shall we look for the 'beneficiaries' of a system which inherently outrages the instincts of ordinary manliness."

Income Tax Evasion

Strong language was used by Representative Keller of Illinois on March 3 when he commented on the practice in recent years of rich men in evading the payment of income tax: "A very large proportion of the rich men of this country were not willing to pay even the reduced income taxes which Congress levied, but used every means to cheat, swindle, and defraud the Government, not out of millions but out of billions of dollars actually due the people under the law. This cheating, defrauding, and swindling was well known to the Treasury Department. And that department took no action to prevent that shameless thievery. It continued year after year with the knowledge, if not with the actual connivance, of the Treasury Department."

Children's Toys

A pacifist youth group in Zurich, Switzerland, recently sent letters to all dealers in children's toys asking them to stop selling military toys, tin soldiers, etc., because these aided the romantic conception of war. One old dealer replied that the reason such toys were made and sold lay with the parents. For years he had refused to sell war toys, but the demand for them had been so persistent that he had almost ruined his business by his policy. He suggested that the pacifists carry their campaign to the parents rather than to the dealers in toys.

Homeless Boys and M. T.

On the day prior to the adjournment of the last session of Congress, agreement on the War Department appropriations bill was reached between the Senate and the House, the final bill eliminating the Couzens proposal to house 88,000 homeless boys in military training camps. Surprising opposition was shown by certain military officers. Major General Haskell, for instance, was quoted in the House as saying: "The proposition is full of dynamite in 100 ways for the present and the future. If only the members of Congress had had my experience on this very problem I am sure the amendment would be overwhelmingly beaten."

Guest Students in the United States

The number of students from other lands now studying in this country is 8,220, as compared with 10,394 during the previous academic year, reports the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students. Canada heads the list with 1,118 representatives, China 954, Japan 800, Philippine Islands 673. The largest foreign delegations are as follows: University of California 563, New York University 405, Columbia 346, Michigan 274, University of Chicago 233.

Patriots!

Under this heading the *Round Table*, campus publication of Beloit College, editorializes on the announcement that the Beloit American Legion is cooperating with the superintendent of the Beloit schools in mapping out "a course of study for history classes in the local schools." Says this organ of student opinion: "In 1917 these men were poisoned with a venom of propaganda. . . . Today they are attempting to perpetuate this same propagandized system. With their necessarily distorted and prejudiced conception of patriotism, they are going to write the histories of the nation."

Company Thugs Get Six Months

Three thugs supposed to be in the pay of the Peabody Coal Co. will spend the next six months in jail. Their leader, Johnny Moulin, has a record that all Illinois union miners know. The offense was beating up Leal Reese on the Benton courthouse grounds. Assaults don't mean much in Benton, as gunmen have killed union miners and got away with it. But in this case it turned out that Reese was not only counsel for the Progressive Miners of America but also city attorney of Taylorville. Reese had gone to Benton to demand an injunction restraining Sheriff Robinson from interfering with civil liberties in Franklin County. Reese had been a little skeptical himself about some of the strong-arm stories the miners had brought in to his office but he is convinced now.

How Many Unemployed?

An editorial in the *Financial Chronicle* places the number of unemployed in the United States between 15,000,000 and 16,000,000, and speaks of the fact that "the whole nation is disheartened and, in fact, in absolute despair."

School Teachers Strike

In Chile the school teachers were angered by low salaries and withholding of payment. More than 5,000 of them went on strike with the enthusiastic support of their pupils. In Cuba a strike of school teachers was scheduled in protest against non-payment of salaries for six to eight months. The government threatened immediate arrest and imprisonment for the leaders and immediate discharge of all striking teachers. The strike was crushed. In Palestine 100 teachers invaded the offices of the Jewish agency executive because their salaries were in arrears from May to August.

Modest Advertising

Apparently former Postmaster General New did not desire to increase the volume of deposits in the Postal Savings banks, for we find above his signature on a leaflet, dated September 1928 in the boom days and still being handed out upon request at postoffices, the following caution: "Note for Postmaster.—This form should be distributed judiciously, the placing of it to follow thoughtful consideration of local conditions. Generally speaking, it should be given out in response to specific inquiries; for educational purposes; and to those to whom the service might have an appeal, always remembering that the Postal Savings System fundamentally is not a competing institution."

Headlines

Students in Transfusion

The Columbia University *Spectator*, undergraduate publication, says more than a score of students are selling their blood in order to continue in college. The average price per transfusion is $45. Associate Dean Nicholas McKnight stated that the university was making efforts "to meet the financial emergency among undergraduates in such a way that earning money through blood transfusions will not be necessary."

Youthful Criminals

After investigating the records of the 277,778 arrests by American policemen during 11 months of last year, agents of the Department of Justice report that 39 per cent of those arrested were under 25 years of age, while 20 per cent were under 20.

New York Prison Labor

Convict industries at Sing Sing prison produced a net profit of $258,593 in the fiscal year 1931-1932. This was an increase of more than $41,000 over the previous year. The major prison industries are printing, production of brushes, mattresses, sheet metal, and knit goods.

Public-Owned Utilities Pay

Taxpayers wondering how to meet increased taxes during the panic may learn something from the report that 84 towns in the United States collect no taxes because public-owned utilities pay all expenses of local government. The cost of electricity for residential service in 190 cities of 50,000 population or more ranged from 23 per cent to 34 per cent higher under private than under public ownership. These facts were revealed by Otto P. Ortlieb, street lighting expert for Trenton, N. J., who made a survey embracing 13 cities having municipally-owned power plants and 177 served by privately-owned plants. The study showed that for consumption ranging up to 100 kilowatt hours a month the municipally-owned power plant means a direct saving to the consumer. Los Angeles' municipally-owned plant, one of the largest public-owned utilities in the United States, has saved that city $385,000 in reduced cost of street lighting, and has cut rates so that consumers will save $15,000 annually. "Steady reduction of rates for electricity, which are lower in Los Angeles today than in any other large metropolis in the United States, is certainly cause for alarm to those who are interested in protecting the power trust," Charles H. Randall, power bureau head, says.

The First Ten Years Are the Easiest

Mr. Neville Chamberlain calmly expressed the opinion in the House of Commons recently that there is no probability whatever that the existing unemployment in Britain will be substantially reduced within the next ten years. Mr. Walter W. Pettit, executive director of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of the State of New York, told a group of social workers a few days ago that "the relief problem will continue for years even if economic conditions improve."

Challenging Mars

Thousands of anti-war leaflets were recently distributed by Cleveland Socialists outside a local theater which was showing "The Big Drive."

Where is the Limit of Taxation?

Professor William B. Munro, of California Institute of Technology, estimates that the total amount paid in taxes of all kinds by the people of the United States approximates nine billion dollars annually, out of a national income of 40 billions in 1932. An additional sum of 10 billions is required to pay interest charges on the total debt-volume of this country.

8,000 Rural Schools Closed

More than 8,000 rural schools closed their doors in 1932, according to an estimate of W. H. Gaumnitz, senior specialist in rural education in the United States Office of Education. In at least 18 states some counties have reduced salaries of rural school teachers by one-third, and in four of these cuts exceed 45 per cent.

5,400 Communists in England

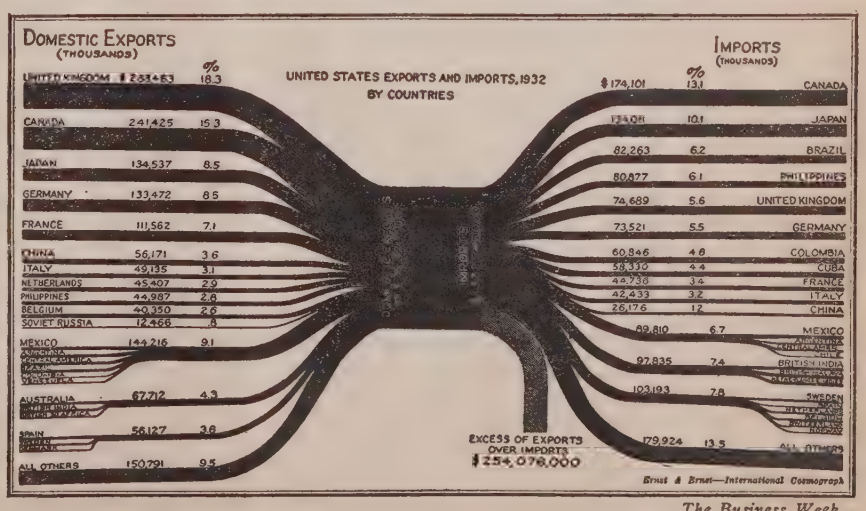
The New Leader (London) says that at the Communist Party Congress in November the report was made that the party membership at that time was 5,400. During the year 2,500 new members were secured, and 2,000 lost.

More Business Failures

All records of business failures in the United States were exceeded in 1932, according to figures recently published by R. G. Dun & Company, who have recently swallowed up Bradstreets. The total number of failures for the year was 31,822, with total liabilities of 928 million dollars.

The Causes of Revolution

In the New York *Times* we read: "Mrs. Ruth Baker Pratt, Representative from New York, who will be free of political cares after tomorrow, will take advantage of that freedom to travel abroad, it became know here today through friends. Mrs. Pratt will close the Manor House, her country home here, for an indefinite period on April 1, it was said. Some of her 35 servants will be continued at the estate, however, although the greenhouses will be closed, as well as the workhorse stables and the duck and chicken runs. Now that the former Miss Phyllis Pratt is married, there remains only the youngest son, Edwin Pratt, at home. The Manor House is of palatial proportions and occupies a large area, from the gardens of which many of the prize-winning blooms at national and local flower shows have been exhibited."



The Business Week

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Russian Perspective

Soviet Russia As I Saw It. By Dr. William J. Robinson. International Press. $2.00.

Russia in Transition—A Business Man's Appraisal. By Elisha M. Friedman. Viking Press. $5.00.

WE are entering the second period of historiography on Soviet Russia. The first period was that of Discovery. One group of explorers came away from Sovietland with the exciting discovery that the workers' millenium had become real, and they announced this exhilarating find with the blast of many trumpets. Another group did not even have to go near Russia to know that Beelzebub and his infernal hosts had set up their rule over one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The second period is the Era of Appraisal. The imminent fall of Communist rule, so frequently announced by Riga and Warsaw, failed to materialize. The Five Year Plan was born, and Russia became a labyrinth of statistics and graphs. Now, with the conclusion of the first *Piatiletka,* the "appraisers" are busy with their balance sheets. Both of the books in question belong to this new type.

Dr. Robinson spent several weeks in Russia during the summer of 1932. The editor of *Critic and Guide* is that rare phenomenon, a doctor with deep social interests. He was, and is, a friend of Russia, but he apparently expected something entirely different from what he found. Though he tells of many admirable and praiseworthy things, on the whole he is disappointed. He denounces the pauperization of the country, the inefficiency of industry, the development of heavy industry rather than the production of consumers' goods, the unsanitary conditions, the GPU, the inbreeding of intellect, and the cruelty toward dissenters and the aged. Much as he will object to it, his book will be used extensively by the enemies of the Soviets.

It would be difficult to quarrel with most of the facts adduced by Dr. Robinson. In fact, it would be easy to add even more damning evidence. Still, the conclusion is inescapable that much of his book lacks perspective, generalizes from insufficient data, disregards statistics a bit too much, and thus paints lopsided pictures. Soviet Russia can be appraised fairly only against a double background: Czarist Russia and Russia's international position after 1920. To compare the Soviets with more or less developed capitalist countries is utterly unfair, even though Russian leaders occasionally invite the comparison.

The reviewer remembers very clearly a five-day trip down the Volga in 1929 and the extended conversations with intelligent Russian officials on that trip. The dominant note of the discussion was the problem that "sixty per cent of the Russian people are still virtually savages" and that Russia was at least a hundred years behind Western Europe in social and economic development. The traveler who forgets that fact cannot see the Russian scene in its proper perspective. He sees breadlines and he forgets that part of the cause is the fact that most Russians (except in the larger cities) are better fed today than they were under the Czar. He is angered by the intolerable delays in railroad service and he forgets that the passenger traffic in Russia is today four times as large as it was in 1913. He sees costly and widespread inefficiency in the factories and he forgets that in Russia trained technicians were almost non-existent before the revolution.

Other factors, too, must be considered in order to sketch a proper picture: a population increase of 3,000,000 a year, which complicates a situation already sufficiently tangled; the failure of recognition by other countries, which did much to retard Russian progress; the refusal of long-term credits by other nations; the threat of war, or at least the nervous fear of invasion, which sidetracked many constructive efforts into military channels; the world-wide depression, which also affected Russian plans, particularly in 1932. Where would Austria, Hungary, Poland and many other countries be today without foreign aid? And the merciful gods know that conditions in these countries are hardly better than those in Russia, Dr. Robinson to the contrary notwithstanding.

It would be ridiculous to say that the Communists in Russia have made no mistakes, economic and psychological, that Russia is not suffering from many ills, and that many Soviet policies do not deserve strong condemnation. Still, to this reviewer, Russia has progressed far in solving its *major* problem, that of establishing a new economic system. The rest of the job, tremendously important and difficult as it will no doubt be, is comparatively a minor matter which will be taken care of in the next 50 years. Did not the Hoover Committee on Social Trends remind us that though we had made enormous technical progress we were sadly lagging in "social invention"? The Soviets have reversed this process, and their future task will accordingly be easier than our own.

Mr. Friedman's heavy volume ought to be read with Dr. Robinson's. It is packed with statistics and graphs and provides exactly the perspective lacking in the latter's work. Friedman is valuable particularly because he compares Soviet Russia with Czarist Russia and also with other countries. This enables one to see the two things most significant in any appraisal: Russia's own development and her relation to world development. The one chapter that does not stand up is the one on the Soviet's mineral resources. Here Isaac Don Levine's *Red Smoke* has been accepted at face value, although the conclusions of that work have been pretty well demolished.

Lenin once told Lincoln Steffens that he hoped to make the harbor of communism by tacking; that is, whenever the Russian ship of state encountered strong head-winds and stormy seas and was unable to make progress, it would be necessary to veer off the direct course and proceed indirectly. The Soviet leaders have heretofore shown a surprising adaptability and a readiness to change policies, even when they thought them the best, in the

face of opposition and failure. The recent announcement on agricultural policy by Molotov is another illustration of statesmanlike tacking. As long as this trait is not lost, the "appraisers" will be able to report progress after every Five Year Plan.

H. C. E.

Alcohol and Man

Alcohol and Man: The Effects of Alcohol on Man in Health and Disease. Edited by Haven Emerson, M.D. Macmillan Co. 429 pages. $3.50.

As to content, this book, containing 16 chapters and written by 22 eminent authorities, mostly American, is deserving of the highest praise. It is scientific and solid in every chapter but one, and reveals quite a remarkable agreement as to facts. Unfortunately the volume contains an enormous amount of repetition, and the many contributors stretch quite unwarrantably the territory assigned to them. The book is written with the dullness characteristic of most scientific writers; but this will probably give it increased authority with the public, which has come to associate dullness of style with scientific importance.

Most of the conclusions of the book substantiate those reached prior to 1915: that alcohol acts always as a depressant, never as a stimulant; that its action is chiefly upon the nervous system, where it produces functional but rarely any recognizable organic changes —conclusions which have been well known for a generation. There are, however, several conclusions which are not so familiar:

1. "It is highly improbable that the quality of human stock has been at all injured by the long use of alcohol." There is no support for the alarming beliefs as to the heredity of alcoholism or its deteriorating effects on human beings.

2. As to its effects in the treatment of disease, the distinguished group of authors is in agreement that alcohol has no value in any of the infectious diseases or in diabetes. The only uses for alcohol in medicine supported by these authors are as a stimulant to appetite and as an aid to give old people a rosy view of life. The article on the use of alcohol in old age is the least scientific one in the book and is the only one in which it is clear that the author feels it necessary to defend his opinions by protesting so much that he makes us doubt the value of what he says.

3. The article on acute and chronic alcoholism ends with the statement that "if it were not for the machine age in which we are living, the alcohol problem would quickly simmer down to one of abuse and moderation. The proper use is, and will always be, a matter of persistent education." Unfortunately the author does not tell us what kind of education, nor does he seem to face the fact that hitherto education has been as ineffective as prohibition in controlling alcoholism.

4. The chapter on the psychological effects of alcohol meets effectively the arguments of Münsterberg and Starling, which portray the favorable effects of using alcohol in moderate amounts, but which are, as the author says, "portrayals of alcohol drinking as a psychological escape-method."

5. The widely advertised statements of Raymond Pearl that moderate drinking promotes *longevity* are contradicted in this book, as they have been by almost all actuaries and responsible statisticians.

6. "The drink habit in the great majority of cases is not due to constitutional inferiority or to abnormal mental state." This is an important conclusion, as many have represented alcoholism as a symptom of mental disease rather than as a cause of it.

7. In the disputed question of the relation of alcohol to cirrhosis of the liver, Louis I. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, concludes: "Death-rates from cirrhosis of the liver have everywhere fallen . . . but the fall has been somewhat greater in some European countries than in the United States and in all instances related to a reduction in the per capita consumption of alcohol in the nation concerned."

8. Among the few important pieces of new work is that of Rosenthal, who shows that alcohol increases the poisonous effects of other substances on liver tissue. This may account for the great increase in destructive liver disease associated with the use of such popular remedies as cinchophen for rheumatism and other pains.

Almost every chapter is admirably summarized, which should go far to offset the difficulties of reading so dull a text, and make the book, despite the faults of its construction, probably the most important that has been written on the subject for a great many years.

Richard C. Cabot

WE RECOMMEND

The Labor Problem in the United States. By E. E. Cummins. D. Van Nostrand Company. $3.50. A large volume of 857 pages covering the entire field of labor relations and problems. Contains a vast mass of factual and statistical data, and a comprehensive index. The point of view is liberal. Valuable as a reference source.

The Dawn of World-Order. By Nowell Charles Smith and J. C. Maxwell Garnett. Oxford University Press. $1.00. A fine little book, with especially forceful charts, showing for novices of any age just what the League of Nations is all about. Marred here, and needlessly, by the fact that the publishers and writers did not take time to insert some material to give an American interest.

Roger Williams, New England Firebrand. By James Ernst. Macmillan. 538 pages. $4.00. Roger Williams has always stood out as a dominant figure in the history of colonial America. He was a rebel, both against the established church and the irresponsible government. As such he became a champion of toleration and the "minter of exorbitant novelties." Williams' story is an excellent example of the concrete, historic origins of religious, social and political dissent. It shows how readily a rebel against an established church may turn to social and political revolt, and vice versa.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Battle Against Starvation

The Wilder, Tennessee, coal miners are on a strike. Southern labor is slow to stir, and they did not strike until a third cut in wages made it impossible for them to live, even meagerly, on the rate the operators offered. The Company caused forces of state militia to be stationed in Wilder to break the morale of the union. Even though facing starvation and intimidation constantly, most of the union men have stuck to their organization. On the frontier of American labor battles, these men are fighting for justice and for a wage large enough to enable them to feed and clothe their families.

A few days ago a group from Highlander Folk School visited the Wilder field. We helped distribute some scanty provisions the

Nashville Socialists had sent down. Each family head was given a little box of coarse groceries: a pound of fat pork, a pound of sugar, a half pound of coffee, a pound of dried beans, a pound of rolled oats, and a can of tomatoes. This is all they will get for two or three weeks more. The average size of the family is seven or eight; some number twelve and fourteen. Babies have no milk, and sick persons have no green or fresh food. The strikers are also without clothes. We saw dozens of poorly-nourished and scantily clad women and children wait all afternoon in line where the used garments were given out. Only two or three garments were allowed to each family. Even then the supply gave out long before the crowd was taken care of, and many went home disappointed.

If the union can hold out in this long drawn-out fight for a mere living wage it will save not only this little community, but will strengthen Southern labor at large. These mountaineers are in good spirits and have plenty of spunk; but even so, many are facing starvation. Living in company houses, already they have electricity and other privileges taken away.

Of course they need food and money; but if you or your group cannot furnish help of that kind, at least you can gather a box or barrel of clothes from among your friends and send to these miners at once. Clothes for men, women, and children are needed. Address contributions to the undersigned as secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

4010 Minnesota Ave., Nashville, Tenn. HOWARD KESTER

Scholarship Fund in Need

MANUMIT School, at Pawling, New York, is prepared to accept for the remainder of the school year a limited number of deserving children of seven to twelve years of age at a low minimum rate. In certain especially deserving cases the parents or guardians are not able to afford even the minimum rate. For such children the school is endeavoring to enlist the interest of persons who will contribute to partial or entire scholarships. Forty dollars a month will give the child of an unemployed worker a country school experience, as well as adequate food, housing and care. This should be of interest to anyone who wants to provide an underprivileged child with something more than mere subsistence.

Pawling, N. Y. ELISABETH IRWIN
HENRY R. LINVILLE

Educating the Workers

WHEN students leave labor colleges, they are equipped to work constructively for the elimination of an irrational social system. As the depression deepens, the need for workers' education grows. Commonwealth College, the labor school near Mena, Arkansas, can accept a dozen new students for the spring term beginning April 3. The course of study includes such subjects as imperialism, social psychology, world history, labor history and problems, labor journalism, public speaking, Marxism, farm problems and labor education.

Commonwealth is entering its tenth year. It operates on a communal basis under a self-supporting plan, raising most of its own food-stuff and carrying on its own activities through the utilization of part-time labor of its students and teachers. Students pay the quarterly tuition of $40 and put in 20 hours of industrial work weekly. All those interested are asked to communicate with O. Hittenrauch, Executive Secretary.

Mena, Arkansas. LUCIEN KOCH, Director

Christian Unity

in Practice and in Prophecy

By
CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

An authoritative review of the history of the movement for Christian unity from its beginnings by an expert observer intimately associated with it through a quarter-century.

The author analyzes proposals for both federal and organic unity and discusses the path for the future.

At your book-dealer's - - - - - $2.75

◆

THE MACMILLAN CO.
60 Fifth Avenue **New York**

Recent Religious Books

PERSPECTIVES

By CHARLES W. GILKEY. Dr. Gilkey's pulpit is not confined to that of the University of Chicago chapel, of which he is dean. In these ten sermons he writes with the aptest illustration and the most carefully stated argument. The current book in HARPERS MONTHLY PULPIT. $1.00

RE-THINKING MISSIONS

A Layman's Inquiry After 100 Years

The most widely discussed religious book in 25 years. Recommended to every American Christian by Pearl S. Buck, author of *The Good Earth*. Ninth printing now available. 350 pages, cloth edition. $2.00

THE HOLY WEEK

By BERNARD IDDINGS BELL. A richly devotional series of meditations on the life and death of Christ. "Unconventional and realistic without ceasing to be devout."—*Howard Chandler Robbins.* $1.00

TWENTY-ONE

By ERDMAN HARRIS. "If you have a boy between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and only $1.50 to spend on him, give him this book by Erdman Harris."—*The Los Angeles Record.* $1.50

MY NEIGHBOR JESUS

In the Light of His Own Language, People and Times

By GEORGE M. LAMSA. A new and inspiring interpretation of the gospels according to Aramaic tradition, by a native of Assyria. Suggestive for Lenten reading. *Fourth printing.* $1.50

FOR SINNERS ONLY

By A. J. RUSSELL. The only complete picture of the remarkable Oxford groups and their leader, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman. "Indispensable!" says the *New York Times* of this important book. $1.50

RICHMOND HILL SERMONS

By J. D. JONES. Author of *The Inevitable Christ.* A new volume of 17 sermons by the great preacher, Jones of Bournemouth. The *Christian World* says of them: "There is lucidity and candour, both of thought and language." 280 pages. $1.50

THE HOLY BIBLE

A New Translation by JAMES MOFFATT. Thousands of people are rereading the Bible with new joy and pleasure in this new translation. "It is bound to win its way into the general reading of the people."—*Harry Emerson Fosdick.* Cloth, $3.50

Harpers • *Publishers* • **New York**

Who's Who in This Issue

Scott Nearing is a well-known economist and the author of "The Twilight of Empire," "Must We Starve?" and other works.

Henry J. Rosner, research secretary of the City Affairs Committee of New York, is a frequent contributor to leading liberal publications.

Richard C. Cabot, formerly on the faculty of the Harvard Medical School, is now professor of social ethics at Harvard and is the author of "Adventures on the Borderlands of Ethics" as well as numerous technical works on medicine.

RUSSIA—July and August
$383 Inclusive
Political conferences in Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin.
Write L. L. DUNNINGTON,
Endion Church, Duluth, Minn.

Important Pamphlets
By SCOTT NEARING

1. The One Way Out
2. A Warless World
3. Why Hard Times?
4. Must We Starve?
5. Another World War
6. Fascism

Ten Cents a Copy
(except for *Fascism,* which is 15c)
or
All Six for Fifty Cents

Address orders to

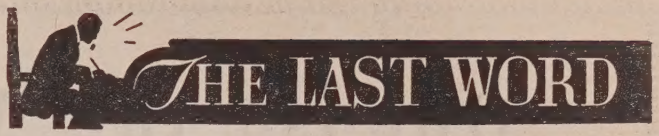
P. O. Box 516 **Ridgewood, N. J.**

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD **Thursday**
1300K—231M **March 23—8:45 P.M.**

Speaker: Kirby Page

Other weekly features of Station WEVD:
The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.
Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.
Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P.M.
Birth Control Radio Hour, Monday, 5:00 P.M.



LUCK doesn't run in my family, and I have never been shipwrecked on a desert isle. If I had, it is certain that my companion would not have been one of the lovely and resourceful heroines of classic romance, but instead some recondite schoolmarm who would have quarreled with me over my selection of the ten indispensable books. I did find an underground river once, and I feel fairly certain that if the other small boy and I had been able to shovel five feet down instead of only two, we should have uncovered not only the river which produced the visible moisture but strange monsters who spoke a strange tongue which we could have strangely understood.

I have dug up weird messages in metal boxes, and if they bore a striking resemblance to my own handwriting, I made no pretence to scientific exploration and had no ambitions to give lectures before Ladies' Aid Societies. Once I chased a new species of North American fauna, huge and terrible, boldly into his burrow far across an impenetrable swamp; and though my parents insisted, in their lack of experience, that it was a woodchuck, I drew myself up with all the hauteur of my seven years and crushed them with the convincing details.

One of the things I was always best at, however, was finding romance in bottles. I don't mean that even then did I ever show the ambition which some people have, to get down to the bottom of a bottle and see whether they may not find there some dream otherwise unrevealed. No, I refer to the message enclosed in a bottle and cast upon the sea, which everyone except those who are hopelessly grown stale with life, always, even if sneakingly, hopes to find at the water's edge. I can remember a summer when nothing but the perversity of our elders prevented my young friends and me from freeing two mariners caught in a rocky cave somewhere off the Rhode Island coast, or stopped us from locating a drifting vessel twenty-five miles off the Connecticut shoreline—that is, by dead reckoning, exactly in the middle of Long Island.

BUT all my personal exploits pale into insignificance beside that of a young West Indian sailor whose genius shone through the columns of the New York *Times* on February 19. From a gentleman in Great Exuma Island, the Bahamas, came to this paper a report of finding a letter in a bottle. The letter declared that the signer of it had died on board a certain steamship during a raging storm through which he was compelled to work on deck by the relentless orders of his captain; that he wished this news to be published in papers in New York, Trinidad, Port of Spain, Barbados, and Georgetown in British Guiana; and that he left all his belongings to his wife and sister. Tragic, dramatic, touching! Nevertheless, inquiry by what the *Times* calls with unnecessary facetiousness a "note-in-bottle expert"—I wish now that I had advertised more widely my own experience along this line—showed that the note-writer is not dead, but has been recently seen by his friends, who divulged the fact that he had had a row with the captain and might, just conceivably, have used this way of getting even. Well, if this be true, his revenge is what I call consummate artistry.

Yet it is tame when compared to that of the first mate I have doubtless described here long ago, who in the captain's illness had to keep the ship's log. Finding that again and again, quite falsely and with malicious intent, the captain had entered the notation that "The mate was drunk today," "The mate was drunk today," the canny victim of this libellous plot calmly made a fateful entry: "The captain was sober, today."

And now my old-time readers realize that Hawthorne was not the only teller of twice-told tales. Well, who cares?

Eccentricus

Oppose the Militarization of Our Youth!

Support Education for World Citizenship!

Do You Know—

That the War Department subsidizes military activities in 395 of our leading colleges and city school systems, enrolling 150,757 students in cadet and rifle corps?

That two-thirds of these students are in compulsory military units—and 53 Citizens' Military Training Camps enrolling 39,061 trainees—at an estimated cost of fifteen millions?

That students are expelled from tax-supported public institutions for refusing drill on religious and conscientious grounds?

That pretty girl officers, snappy uniforms, polo ponies, prizes, and even pay are used to attract students to the military?

That the main purpose of this whole program is admittedly "education" for the military viewpoint?

You Can Help By:

Learning and spreading the facts. (Write us for data on your state.)

Aiding students resisting drill in schools near you.

Aligning civic and religious groups back of these students, and supporting drives for military reductions.

Urging education in the methods of international cooperation.

Sending at least one dollar per year to our Committee.

We shall keep you informed on local and national opportunities to oppose militarism and promote peace education. A contribution includes a subscription to our bulletin, *Breaking the War Habit*, published six times during the school year, the current number of which carries the full text of the recent court decision ordering the University of Maryland to reinstate a student suspended for refusal of drill.

Literature sent upon request.

Committee on Militarism in Education

2929 Broadway, New York City

GEORGE A. COE, Chairman
HARRY A. OVERSTREET, Vice-Chairman
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, Vice-Chairman

ALVIN C. GODDARD, Treasurer
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, Secretary
TUCKER P. SMITH, Secretary